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BOOK REVIEWS

Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century. Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. By Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915. Pp. vii + 501.

The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies. By Herbert E. Bolton. Reprint from the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xxiii, No. 1, pp. 41-61.

The territory comprised within the boundaries of the Lone Star State came into prominence, and engaged the attention of Spain and France, at a very early period in our North American history. The four survivors of the ill-fated Navaez expedition, which towards the end of 1528 perished on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, passed several years groping their way through the numerous Indian tribes of Texas. When in 1536 they at last reached civilization at Culiacán, Sinaloa, they had a story to relate which inspired various military and missionary movements for the occupation of the country in question. From that date on the Spanish government claimed Texas by right of discovery. Nevertheless it failed to develop the resources of the territory, or to take steps for the conversion of the savages to Christianity.

Spanish missionaries would, indeed, offer to cross the Rio Grande in order to acquaint the roving natives with the Gospel of Christ, but nothing came of the ardent appeal, because they were not permitted to give vent to their zeal in that direction without military guards. Soldiers would cause expense to the royal treasury which must not be burdened save for purposes that produced adequate returns. In the eyes of the Spanish government missions "served as means of defense to the king's dominions," as Prof. Bolton writes in his admirable essay, *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*. Hence, primarily, according to royal intent, the missions were pioneering agencies of the State. It was not a noble situation that confronted the Spanish missionary.

He could not present himself to the savages as the messenger of Christ only, the acceptance of whose teachings alone would secure salvation, but he must, at the same time, unlike the Apostles of old, unlike a St. Patrick, a St. Augustine, a St. Boniface, etc., preach submission to a particular foreign sovereign. It was humiliating; but only under such condition would the Spanish government lend its protection or even allow a missionary to proceed without military aid. Even then the missionary would have to await the good pleasure of the government, and remain indifferent to the clamors of the Indian for baptism, and the good will of the government in Mexico would not be manifested until some foreign invasion threatened to deprive the Crown of Spain of the territory it claimed. Then the royal purse-strings would be loosened, and the necessary funds granted for missions.

Such a rude awakening the viceroy experienced when he learned that early in 1685, the Sieur de la Salle had erected a fort at Matagorda Bay in the name of the King of France. Alarmed at this French presumption, Viceroy de Galve, in 1689, sent an expedition into Texas with orders to drive out the intruders, and to establish missions for the conversion of the natives under the protection of a military fort. The Franciscans Fr. Damian Mazanet, Fr. Miguel Fontcubierta, and Fr. Francisco Casañas were selected to accompany the soldiers. When the Spaniards arrived at the site of the French settlement, they found that the fort had been destroyed and the colonists massacred by savages. Two unburied bodies were given Christian burial, then the expedition proceeded to eastern Texas to establish missions.

The exact location of La Salle's Fort St. Louis has long been disputed, but, says Dr. Bolton in the *Austin American* of July 19, 1914, "this question is debatable no longer; for it is settled once for all by newly discovered records which are corroborated by archeological and topographical investigation . . . It is exactly where Cárdenas's map shows La Salle's settlement on the west bank of the Garcitas River, about 5 miles above its mouth, and on the highest point of the cliff-like bank of that stream." Dr. Bolton identified the site on July 4, 1914. In the preface of the larger book under review he says: "I count as my cardinal joy the identification of the location of La Salle's fort, on the Garcitas River, near the shores of Lavaca Bay."

After founding Mission San Francisco in the extreme northeast corner of the present Houston County on June 1, 1690, and a Mission in honor of the holy Name of Mary directly across the Neches River east of Mission San Francisco, in southwestern Cherokee County, some time in October, the Fathers endeavored to win the savages, but the evil conduct of the soldiers, who had been recruited from the scum of society in Mexico, rendered all their efforts useless. "Scarcely a day passed without some one fighting, or some officer stabbing a soldier, so that the servant brother was generally kept busy attending the wounded," writes Fr. Mazanet. Worse than that, the guards would enter the homes of the Indians to gratify their lusts. Reporting the situation in person, Fr. Casañas declared to the viceroy that the Spanish officials had yet to learn that the missionaries, however patient and self-sacrificing they might be, could accomplish little for Christianity and civilization among the savages unless the guards themselves set an example in civilization and the practice of Christian virtues.

This may be said to be a sample of the complaints of the missionaries throughout the Texan missionary period. Fr. Mazanet a little later reported that the misdeeds of the soldiers had enraged the Indians, and that medicine men were adding to the difficulties by blaming the missionaries for diseases and deaths among the savages. As six of the fifteen guards had deserted, he asked for a sufficient number of reliable men. Instead of heeding the urgent appeal, the Government in August, 1693, directed the missionaries to retire to Mexico. Nor could the Franciscans prevail upon the viceroy to let them return until twenty-three years later, and then it was an alarm of French encroachments that brought about the reestablishment of the missions, and the founding of new ones, as *frontier posts against the enemy*.

In his splendid essay, *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*, Professor Bolton throws such strong and clear light on this feature of the Indian missionary establishments under Spanish rule that we urgently advise the student, who desires to comprehend mission history, first to study Bolton's little work, and then to read his *Texas in the Eighteenth Century* for information regarding the activity of the Franciscans in Texas, or *The Mis-*

sions and Missionaries of California on their labors in the Golden State.

"From the standpoint of the Church," says Prof. Bolton, "and as viewed by the missionaries themselves, their principal work was to spread the Faith, first, last, and always. To doubt this is to confess complete and disqualifying ignorance of the great mass of existing missionary correspondence, printed and unprinted, so fraught with unmistakable proofs of religious zeal and devotion of the vast majority of the missionaries." (*Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 46-47.)

Be it known that the man who makes this emphatic statement is not a Catholic. His boyhood passed within the shadows of a Methodist meetinghouse of Wisconsin. He must have heard many of the usual strange stories about the Catholic Church and her ministers; but having chosen the field of history for his life's work, an innate love for truth urged him to investigate every statement, until he found it to correspond with the facts as noted in original documents. Nor is he a mere armchair historian, but he would visit the scenes of past events in order to discover corroboration for what the documents revealed. "My quest has been as romantic as the search for the Golden Fleece," he writes. "I have burrowed in the dust of the archives of Church and State in Mexico City, in a dozen state capitals, in Nachitoches, Louisiana, and in numerous places in Texas. The distance travelled in my pursuit of documents would carry me around the globe. I have lived with the *padres* in ruinous old monasteries in out of the way villages in the mountains of Mexico . . . My researches have taken me not only into foreign archives in quest of records, but also over hundreds of miles of old trails in Texas, Louisiana, and other parts of the Southwest, in search of topographical and archeological data, for light on the historical tale. I have ridden by team long distances over the Old San Antonio Road, where no railroads run, and on horseback in mud fetlock deep, over the historic trail from Nachitoches, the old French outpost of Louisiana, to Adaes (Robeline), the Spanish outposts of Texas. To examine the ruins and map out the sites of the forgotten missions near Rockdale, I have several times driven and tramped back and forth, up and down the valley of the San Gabriel." (Preface to *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*.)

Nevertheless, all these sincere efforts to secure accurate data would not be sufficient guarantee that the professor's presentation of the facts is trustworthy, were it not for his apparent determination to abide by the rule laid down by Cicero, and which Pope Leo XIII prescribed for all Catholic historians, "not to dare state what is false, and then not to dare suppress what is true." Would that all writers of history stood by that rule.

For a second time the Franciscans, as already indicated, returned to eastern Texas. This time twelve Fathers composed the band of intrepid missionaries, among whom was Fr. Antonio Margil, declared Venerable by Pope Gregory XVI in 1836, which means that he had practised the theological and cardinal virtues in an heroic degree. They reestablished Mission San Francisco, not on the same place, as Prof. Bolton shows, but "near the Neches Mounds, on the land of the Morrill Orchard Company, just east of and across the river from Neches, Houston County." The other two missions and the garrison for their protection were planted as follows: "The presidio or fort was erected at the spring just west of Douglas, and Mission Purísima Concepción arose on the Angelina River just west thereof. Mission San José de los Nazones was placed near the border of Rush and Nacogdoches counties." These three establishments were in charge of the Franciscans from the missionary College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. The Franciscans of the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, under Fr. Margil, founded their three missions as follows: "Mission Guadalupe in the center of modern Nacogdoches; Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the present City of San Augustine, San Augustine County; and Mission San Miguel right at the modern village of Robeline, Louisiana, and a short distance to the northeast was the presidio" for the protection of this group of missions.

Meanwhile, in 1718, Fr. Antonio Olivares, by permission of Viceroy de Valero, transferred his Xaramé Indian mission from the southern banks of the Rio Grande to the headwaters of the Rio de San Antonio, where he established the mission of the same name, later on famous as the "Álamo," at what is now the City of San Antonio.

In 1720, Viceroy Valero equipped an expedition for the expul-

sion of the French invaders and the return of the Fathers to their missions. This expedition reached San Antonio on April 4, 1721. After a needed rest, the soldiers and colonists, joined by the Franciscans, arrived at the first mission in July. The Fathers took possession, and then in their turn all other missions were reoccupied. While the three establishments of the Zacatecan Fathers in the extreme east continued, the three in charge of the Querétaro Fathers, chiefly because the guards were withdrawn as not necessary in the opinion of the Government, were permitted to be transplanted to the Rio San Antonio. The change was effected by 1731, in which year the missions of San José, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de Espada were founded in the vicinity of San Antonio.

This takes us directly to the beginning of the period discussed in Prof. Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*.

At the very outset Professor Bolton disclaims wanting to present a history. "It is, rather, a collection of special studies, closely related in time and subject-matter, and designed to throw light upon a neglected period in the history of one of the most important of Spain's northern provinces . . . The special studies here presented are based almost exclusively upon manuscript sources, chiefly in the archives of Mexico, Spain, and Texas, and for the most part hitherto unknown and unused" (Preface v-vi). The numerous and luminous footnotes, such as the historical student delights to encounter in a work of this kind, sustain the professor's claim.

One observes, too, that the author heartily sympathizes with his subject, which of necessity deals chiefly with the missions and missionaries, for Texas history in the eighteenth century without the missions would be a blank. His very studies of authorities at first hand, his determination not to permit any early sectarian training or previous adverse impressions to warp his judgment, and his innate sense of what is fair, have led him to express his sympathy in no uncertain terms. Others, indeed, have written about Texas and its history, but inasmuch as they lacked the qualities essential for an accurate presentation of the historical facts, their writings have not satisfied the lovers of truth and justice.

With these *Studies* Prof. Bolton appears to have inaugurated a new departure from the methods observed in State Universities concerning Catholic activities. Professors of History would seem to have made it a law to themselves not to say anything favorable about Catholic work anywhere, if they could find nothing unfavorable, or to hem in what is good with "buts," "however," "nevertheless," etc., until the good impression made by the recital of the mere facts is effectually smothered. Professor Bolton takes the opposite course. He disdains to be a partisan. As a true historian he is a judge, and a judge must sift the evidence, clarify it, not smother it, nor twist it out of semblance to the truth. Hence, as in the case of the missionaries, for instance, he abstracts from any view or notion he may have about the Catholic Church, and simply judges the work of the friars according to their own convictions, motives, and aims. Inasmuch as he knows these from personal observation, from original documents, and from consequent results, he does not see why the Catholic missionary should not receive the credit due. Therefore he manfully and honestly expresses judgment in keeping with the evidence. These principles he has likewise impressed upon his pupils, first at the University of Texas, then at the University of Stanford, California, and he continues to inculcate the same fair historical rules at the University of California, with the result that his students have in turn gained for themselves honorable positions as professors of history at various State institutions, where they are proud to conduct their department in the equitable spirit of their revered master. In this way the author of *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* has, perhaps, unconsciously, founded a new school of history, which we should call the "Bolton School of Historical Research," for it is based on original research, which yields knowledge that is quite different from the information easy-going literary hacks in professors' chairs repeat from printed works of little historical value.

Nor does Professor Bolton stand alone in taking a fair and sympathetic view of Catholic missionary activities and their results. In the case of New Mexico, visited by Franciscans much earlier than Texas, others before him, non-Catholics too,

investigated, above and below ground, and with the same results for themselves, that is to say, previous unfavorable impressions about Catholic religious were changed to a feeling of admiration. The most conspicuous men of this band of scientific men, who actually revolutionized the accounts current about the early days in the far West, and paved the way for a real scientific treatment of its history, are Adolf F. Bandelier, Frank H. Cushing, Parker Winship, F. W. Hodge, Charles F. Lummis, and even the radical atheist Dr. Elliott Coues. All their writings exhibit unmistakable friendliness, the effect of personal examination performed with the determination to be fair. Bandelier went further. He employed the same system to secure the facts and the truth in another line with the result that he yielded to the evidences and became a Catholic, for which action none of his companions in the historical and ethnographical field respected him one whit less.

Dealing chiefly with Indian missionary establishments, Prof. Bolton's book contains much that will interest the student of ethnology. The names of the tribes and their habitat is carefully described. "All were objects of solicitude to the missionaries," (p. 4) whose purpose was to Christianize and civilize them. They could not be induced to adopt either Christianity or civilization unless those willing were segregated from their wild tribesmen, and put under the humane rule of the missionaries. This suggested the mission and the mission system. They had then to be taught industry and civic life. What that meant is only intimated, but may be inferred from the letter of a Franciscan Superior, which is quoted: "At present," writes the Father, "as is notorious, they are incapable of governing themselves. It is necessary that the missionary religious take them out to the work of planting, and that he go about with them in planting and in harvesting, and that he take care that they guard the stock, that he count them, that he go with them to work on the buildings, and in fine, in all temporal occupations; for experience shows that if the missionary does not go about in this work and leaves it in their care, everything is lost and they go at once to the forest. Every day it is necessary to give rations to each Indian, for if the food is left to their disposition in two days it is exhausted." (Page 12.)

"The conversions," Fr. Santa Ana writes in 1740, "are not difficult, but they are vexatious; for it is necessary to deal with them like a mother instructing a child. Until after five, or six, or seven years they are unable to enter into a perfect understanding, and thus it is rare that one does not flee to the forests twice or three times, and so far that they sometimes go inland as many as a hundred leagues, but we have the patience to seek them, and as soon as they see the Father they come like lambs." (Page 17.)

Professor Bolton points out another serious obstacle to effective work. "By the Laws of the Indies," he says "the missionaries were enjoined to instruct the Indians in their native languages; but in the first place, the native languages usually lacked terms in which properly to convey the meaning of the Christian doctrine. In the second place, on some frontiers there were so many dialects that it was impossible for the friars to learn them. This was eminently true in the region between the Rio Grande and San Antonio, where there were more than twenty dialects or languages regularly spoken. Hence instruction was given in Spanish, reliance being placed when necessary upon native interpreters. In 1760 Father Bartolomé García published a *Manual* for religious instruction in the Coahuiltecan language which served for about twenty tribes represented at the missions on the San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande. The form outlined for the confessional in this book reflects the horrible moral conditions with which the missionaries had to contend in their work of civilization." (Page 11.)

It is this habit of explaining what might be misconstrued that materially enhances the value of Professor Bolton's work. He does not essay to defend the friars, but simply adds the explanatory circumstances, which is all that the friars would want. It is the right way to present what has occurred in the past. It is true history. Of course, in this way he misses a glorious opportunity of "roasting the priests" and "making Rome howl," as was the custom with anti-Catholic professors and bogus historians up to about twenty or thirty years ago. However, the author of those "Studies" is not out for cheap notoriety; besides he has won for himself the distinction of being a fair, painstaking, accurate teacher in the Department of History.

With that enviable reputation he desires to go down to posterity. Hence his careful research which results in products the students may confidently study and consult.

"At Mission San Antonio alone," the author continues, "no fewer than forty different bands or tribes were represented by the baptisms between 1731 and 1745. . . . The original tribes at Mission Concepción were three—the Pajalat, Siquipil, and Tilpacopal—but by 1745 members of at least fifteen others had been attracted thither" (p. 16). "Quarrels between the missionaries and the secular authorities were almost constant, in Texas as elsewhere," the professor writes. "It is difficult to determine whether the seat of the trouble was the imperfect definition and distribution of authority provided by the administrative system, or pride, 'headiness,' and insubordination in the Spanish character. Whatever the cause, wrangling was a chronic and disastrous malady in all the frontier Spanish provinces" (p. 13).

It will help the student to a decision if he bear in mind that the very aims and character of the quarrelling parties rendered disputes unavoidable. The missionaries, vowed to a life of poverty and chastity, entered the field intent on nothing but the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians. By royal decrees they were also constituted the guardians and protectors of the Indians and their rights. On the other hand, the military guards were generally composed of convicts and jailbirds, and officered by men who sought only their personal gain. Both, officers and guards, wanted to exploit the Indians for their own selfish ends. Under such circumstances it is a wonder that the friars made any converts at all. It would take us far beyond the space allotted to ventilate even briefly this phase of missionary afflictions. We shall, therefore, hasten to one of the best features of Dr. Bolton's work. The professor has taken great pains to locate the various missions and presidios. Of some the very memory had been lost. After personally visiting the scenes of friar activities, documents in hand, he has succeeded in identifying every one of them, and thus earned the lasting gratitude of the State and of the Franciscans as well. Besides the six missions in eastern Texas and the five in the vicinity of San Antonio, a third group was established on the lower Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers in what is now Victoria and Goliad counties. These were the missions of *Espiritu*

Santo, Nuestra Señora del Rosário, and Nuetra Señora del Refugio. About midway between San Antonio and the abandoned establishments of the Neches and Angelina rivers, on San Xavier River (now San Gabriel), in Milam County, about ten miles northwest from Rockdale, were the missions of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* (or San Francisco Xavier), *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, and *San Lorenzo*. Among the fierce Apaches of western Texas arose Mission *Santa Cruz* on the San Sabá River, about four miles below Menardville, Menard County. Here Fathers Alonso Giraldo de Terreros and José Santiesteban were massacred by the savages in 1759. On the eastern branch of the Upper Nueces River, near the southern border of Edwards County, four or five leagues apart, in 1762, were founded the second missions of the same names—*San Lorenzo* and *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*. These with *Santa Cruz* formed the San Sabá Missions. Finally, we have Mission *Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, near the presidio of San Agustin, which lay a “short distance east of the left bank of the Trinity River, some two leagues from the head of the bay, or near the north line of present Chambers County.” (Pages 346–347.) Hence between the years 1690 and 1790 twenty-one missions were founded for the savages of Texas. This was the same number reported for California, but only those in the vicinity of San Antonio ever reached the importance of the smaller missions in the Golden States.

A number of topographical maps greatly aid the student to comprehend the situation around the various missions and presidios. “Too high praise,” to use the words of Prof. W. E. Dunn of Austin University, “cannot be given to the general map of Texas, which furnishes the most elaborate and authoritative map of colonial Texas in existence, one which could only be prepared by a profound specialist in the field.” It points out exactly the route taken by various expeditions, marks out the habitat of the different Indian tribes, and locates accurately the missions, giving the dates of founding as well.

If we may express a wish it is that Dr. Bolton supply us with a complete history of Texas, beginning with the period not treated, 1689 to 1730, incorporate the new material since discovered in the archives of Spain, and bring the work down to the independence of the territory of Texas. Save for the learned

articles that appeared in the *Texas Historical Quarterly* and its successor, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, most of the work printed in English on the missions is of little historical value. We hope the professor may consider the proposition and earn the lasting gratitude of posterity.

ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT.

American Presidents—Their Individualities and Their Contributions to American Progress. By Thomas Francis Moran, Ph.D. New York: T. Y. Crowell Company. Pp. 148.

The divisions of this little volume, Washington to Jackson, Jackson to Lincoln, and Lincoln to Wilson, give to the reader a hint of the author's principles. In the first section we find the statesmen Presidents, those chief executives whose public services singled them out for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens. In this group we have gradations in efficiency from Washington, the greatest, to Monroe, the least, though measured by the standard of the later times a not inconsiderable official. From Jackson, chosen for considerations other than a knowledge of national or of international affairs, there is an evident deterioration. Lincoln the first of the third division, and, perhaps, the greatest among them, was nominated because of his conservative opinions on the subject of slavery, while his successors, three of them not intended for the first office, appear to have been chosen in part for their availability and talents.

In his sketch of John Adams the author mentions "the X. Y. Z. Affair" as the "principal event" of the second President's administration. It was, indeed, the principal diplomatic event, but in its momentous importance the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws far transcended the mission of Marshall, Gerry, and Pinckney. This legislation suggests the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Hartford Convention, Nullification, and Secession. In a word, it locates the landmarks of much of the history of our Republic between 1798 and 1860.

In his account of the next two terms Dr. Moran states that Jefferson and Hamilton represented "opposite poles of political thought, always opposing and never pulling in the same direction." This is almost the literal truth, but there was a memorable